[Since different authors assign variant functions to the ajwogɔ, jal yat and bareth, for full information on these religious and magical practitioners in their various contexts see also categories 756, 791 and 793.]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done by an *ajuago*; special virtue resides in the testes, and these, perhaps with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, i.e. to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajuago* —literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, who generally speaking works for the good of the community (though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-man, the *jalyat*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

Typically, though not always, the *jalyat* is a monorchid, though men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands tend to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyat* is to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated with the individual, e.g. a petticoat, or even a weapon (especially a club); or an effigy may be made, and heated or pierced to destroy the person it represents.

Certain women known as *daiyat*—recognized by their actions, especially do they speak enviously of others—are regarded as the feminine equivalent of the *jalyat*. The magic of the *daiyat* is associated with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyat* has no difficulty in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (*yuop*) is associated with the *jalyat*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye are monorchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye —largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:—

> "When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to . . . cure the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he

[1] Op. cit., 134-6.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficient *rôle* in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even sentenced to death. — Besides these the word *jal yaŋ* "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajwöggo*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch"-, or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

When possessed by a spirit (or by Jwok?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his follower, vide page 149. ECSTASY

The texts contain many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgment. A reminiscence of sun-service is evident from 55, page 166. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourses with men. — According to some older writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle-herds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in misty weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirits and the sun-god [1]. MYTHOLOGY

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *wei* and *tipg; wei* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *tipg* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as seen when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *anyikg;* the word is derived from *nāgg* to kill; *anyikg* probably means "one who kills", or "who is killed". The *anyikg* is feared. SOUL, SPIRIT

On the abode of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the texts the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *jō pā jwok.* Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known. ABODE OF THE DECEASED

Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets beside their own charms. It is admirable that these people, Shilluks, Dinkas Anywaks, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side ISLAM

[1] This doubtlessly relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

*539 the man of Adokong,[1] and the king said, "Ah!" Then came the man of Ningaro, he said: "Well, bring water!" And water was brought. He washed himself, he washed his hands (as a preparation for eating food); then he took the beans out and ate them. Nyadwai said, "Kill all the other witch-doctors![2] And they were killed.

In the time of the reigning of king Yo, some Dinka man whose name was Lengyang, came into the Shilluk country, and lived there. He was a sorcerer. Towards the end of his reigning Yo ordered the sorcerer to be brought, and [721] he killed him (on account of his sorcery). On that a war arose with the Dinkas, and they fought at Tonga; Tonga was destroyed. Then the king said, "The whole army shall go!" And the Dinkas ran away.

69. The Vision of the Sorcerer.

787 There was a certain man whose name was Wet Kwa Oket, he was also called Agweratyep, a very strong man; he was a sorcerer. One day he had a vision, *539 and he said," The white people come!" And the white people came, the country was destroyed by them. And he died, and was mourned; but before he died, he said, "Ah, the chieftainship shall be taken over by Ajalong after my death. But the man who kills me by his witchcraft, he too shall die after me." And he was mourned, and his steer fell under the dom palm.[3] And the man who had bewitched him, was struck by lightning, and died; for he had been cursed by the sorcerer. And all the people believed in him, saying, "Agweratyep is a strong man indeed!" The medicine men were afraid, and so the village lived in a peaceful condition.[2]

70. Agok.

*539 *Jwɔk chwɔla Agɔk, mɑ̄ɲi tɔn jal yaŋ. Jal mɛ̄kɔ bɛ̄da ajwɔgɔ, ka ɖeaŋ ywɔbɛ, ka ɖeaŋ yɛ taɲi fɛ́n. Ka jɛ̄ rɛna kal, ka jɛ̄ ko: ɛ́, Agɔ̄k, ɖeaŋ a ŋgu. Kine: e nɛke yi ŋɔ? Kine: kíjà. Chɔ́n jɛ̀! Ka jɛ̄ chɔ́n; ka e ko: ŋatɛ̀, faŋe yin a ywɔp ɖeaŋ? Kine: yan! Kine: kɨpaŋɔ? Kine: yá pàɲi yín! Kine: kɨ, yi ba pyɛ̄lɔ, wɑt ŋyau, ɲiɲi lɓɛk! yi re chɔ́k yí yɔ̀bɔ̀ kɨ ɖɔ̄ tɛ̄rɔ? Yá faŋe yiŋ àu, má kɨɛch. Kine, ɛ́, de wɑ̄ ŋum! Kɛŋ, chɔ̀l! A chɔ̀lɨ́ kɨ ɖɔkɛddɨ̀k.*

Ka jal ŋni e kɨɖɔ̀, ka bɛ̄ gɔte yi pwɔdɔ. Ka jal ŋni túk yi Agɔk, kine: ŋatɛ̀, kɛŋ jal yaŋ chíné! Ká è bɛ̄dɔ, chwɔla gɔn a lɛ̀k. Ka mwɔl ka e kɛɖɔ, ka gin ŋni ywɔde yi fwɔdɔ. Gɔ gɔ̀l fɛ́n, ka bia pach. Ka e kɔ̄bɔ kine: giche mɛ̄kɔ e gɔ̀l yi fwɔdɔ yi jal yaŋ. E ko: dɑ̄pɔ̀nɔ̀ pyɛ́jí yán? Yí cha kɔ́pɔ kɔ́pɔ̀ kine: kɛŋ, jal yaŋ a yip pwɔdɔ! Kine: kɛŋ! Kine: yi re bàɲ? Kine: chwɔla ga lāke yau! Kine: ɑ̄, chɔ́n tɛ̀rɔ̀! A chɔ́n tɛ̀rɔ̀, a pɛ́chɛ́ kine: jal yáŋ, yin nɛka ŋɔ jɛ̄? A tyɛk

[1] They did not know the cause either, except the last, who found out the cause of the humming.
[2] The "medicine men" are the "bad sorcerers", who try to kill people by their witchery. They are called here "*jo yeŋ*" "men of medicine", as opposed to the *ajwɔ̄gɔ*, who is supposed to work for good. [3] vide Introduction.

[754 756]

periodic possession by the spirit of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrines of Nyikang may or may not be *ajuago*, for mere connection with a shrine does not automatically make a man an *ajuago*.

According to Seligman when a man becomes an *ajuago* he becomes ill and has dreams. On consulting one who is already in the profession, he is told that he has in him a spirit of one of the early kings. Special ceremonies are performed, the habits and skills marking an *ajuago* are acquired, and the man begins to practise in his professional capacity. The power is frequently hereditary and a son or daughter or even a remote relative may become possessed. All witchdoctors live celibate lives whether they are male or female. According to Seligman an *ajuago* marries wives and others beget children for him.(1) Many witchdoctors are specialists in some branch of magic but some have general powers. Some of the main tasks performed by them are: to give safety on a journey, to bring success in hunting, to bring victory in war, and to detect those who will be killed in a fight and forestall their deaths. They are believed to have the power of curing disease and also to kill by magic. The witchdoctors are essential to the community as diviners and they have the ability to ward off evil spirits and bad magic. Very often an *ajuago* possesses a 'gourd of Juok', which is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron band. The gourd is greased and some grain is put in it. When it is shaken the grain rattles and that is presumed to be Juok talking. The gourd is kept in the *ajuago*'s house and is consulted for purposes of divination.(2)

Many of the witchdoctors exert a powerful influence over the people and, in consequence of the fees they receive, are usually prosperous.

The Jalyat

The *jalyat*, 'the man of herbs', is a sorcerer dealing essentially in bad magic, as opposed to the good magic of the *ajuago*. The *jalyat* is greatly feared. He works in secret at night so that the Shilluk are never sure who is a *jalyat*, though they will kill anyone whom they suspect of practising sorcery.

The *jalyat* is thought of as being a monorchid and, as such, he should be drowned at birth. The father alone has the power to save his son. When a sorcerer has reached maturity he cannot be killed openly unless the people of his village determine to rid themselves of the evil they believe him to be causing. The power is not considered to be hereditary. The sorcerer, in practising his evil arts, uses parts of his victim's body or things closely associated with him. He makes mud effigies and pierces them or puts them in a fire and is believed by these means to destroy the persons they represent. A sorcerer may cause sickness, bring misfortune by ruining crops, by causing cattle to go barren and so forth. Sorcerers work against children in a large family and certain accidents and deaths may be caused by their machinations. The basis of the sorcerer's intentions is considered to be envy of the successful and the prosperous, whom he therefore endeavours to injure.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932. p.101.
(2) Oyler, *S.N.R.*, 1920, Vol.III, No.1, p.114.

754 If a man knows that he is being bewitched he can get the witchdoctor to counteract the bad magic and save him. When he gets old the sorcerer may hire out his powers to help people.(1) It is a serious offence to [683] accuse a man of being a sorcerer unless it can be proved, and an accuser may be heavily fined. A sorcerer must be caught in the act if he is to be legitimately killed.

The Daiyat

Daiyat appear to be the feminine equivalents of the *jalyat*. They are not regarded as being so evil and serious in intent as the *jalyat*.

The Evil Eye (Ywop)

The Shilluk believe firmly in the power of the evil eye and that it is inherited, passing from a parent (male or female) to the children. It may also come suddenly upon a person. Those who possess it try to conceal the power from others.(2) Envy, jealousy or anger causes people with this power to bring illness or misfortune on others who are richer and more fortunate than themselves. The *ajuago* can counteract the effects of the evil eye by prayer, sacrifice and countermagic.(3)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

844 About three months before her first child is born, a woman leaves her husband and returns to her parents' *gol* for the birth.(4) Immediately after the birth the mother is exhorted to confess all her previous love affairs to the woman acting as midwife and it is believed that were she not to do so she and the baby would die. The child is shown to the father [847] and his friends who wish to see that it is not a monorchid or deformed in any way. In the former case, the child would probably be killed, for it is believed that monorchids grow up to be sorcerers.(5) Cleansing cere-846 monies are carried out a few days after birth. It is considered wrong to 842 have another child before the previous one has been weaned.

845 Twins are welcomed by the Shilluk. They are called *nwole juok* 'children of god' and have special names. Many ceremonies occur after the birth of twins.

553 Names are given soon after birth and usually refer to some incident which has occurred in the family. The birth name is retained throughout life, although an ex-name and other names are taken later.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES

774 According to Seligman every living man has both a *wei* and a *tipo*. The *wei* is breath or life, the *tipo*, shadow or image. In addition, the

(1) Oyler, *S.N.R.* Vol.II, 1919, No.2, p.123. (2) *Ibid.*
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.221. (4) *Ibid.*, p.271.
(5) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.70.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

further evidence, that such offences were treated as private delicts in the past, though nowadays, through the influence of the Government, penal sanctions may be applied.

Witchcraft

The Dinka and Nuer tell us that witches and other anti-social persons were sometimes dispatched by their victims or their kinsmen with the tacit consent of the community. Acts of homicide against persons whose actions threatened the integrity of the community were either not subject to restitutory sanctions at all, or the compensation demanded by their kinsmen was on a much reduced scale.[1] A similar attitude towards witches is to be found among the Shilluk, but again without the support of actual examples.

In the published literature there are references to persons described variously as witches, sorcerers, magicians, medicine-men, and possessors of the evil eye,[2] and their activities and methods are described, but there are few references to the way in which they were treated. The sanction applied to witchcraft is normally counter-magic consciously applied by the victim.

Hofmayr speaks of 'the *jal yat*, the evil-doer, his aim in life is to do harm, both to life and to property, either by natural means or others,' and adds that 'the *jal yat* works in the dark, but if he is caught, he will be severely punished. Often he is handed over to the people who kill him.' Hofmayr also speaks of the 'poison mixer' (again *jal yat*) who 'is hardly ever discovered. If he is caught, the people will lynch him on the spot and his relations will have to leave the district.'[3] Another passage mentions that the compensation for killing a person possessing the evil eye is only four head of cattle instead of ten. These references, supported by what the Shilluk have told me, suggest an attitude similar to that found among the Nuer and Dinka.

It might be expected that, if there were any greater development of concepts of public law, and if the *reth* performed formal judicial and executive functions, acts of this sort would be subject not to merely private retaliation with the consent of the community, but rather to repressive sanctions applied by the *reth* or his representatives. In fact there is no evidence of this. It may be noted in this connexion that there are instances recorded during the last thirty years of attempts to introduce alien cults which would clearly be subversive of the ritual status of the *reth* and, through him, of the religious foundations of Shilluk society. For this reason Shilluk who have openly practised the Dinka cult of Deng have been severely repressed.[4] There is good reason to believe that such activities would have been punished by death in the past and they are, by their very nature, public delicts amounting to acts of treason.

Conclusions

Much of the evidence so far quoted is unreliable, mainly because the authors have recorded impressions rather than facts. My own conversations with the Shilluk on the subject have been limited and perfunctory, and for this reason cannot provide

[1] For example, the Nuer *rath* or Ghoul - see Howell and Lewis, 'Nuer Ghouls – a form of Witchcraft', *S.N.R.* xxviii, 1947.

[2] *ajwogo*, magician, *Jal yat*, sorcerer, *ywob*, possessor of the evil eye. There are many references to the activities of such persons in Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*. See also Oyler, D. S., 'The Evil Medicine Man', *S.N.R.*, 1920.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[4] See Willis, C. A., 'The Cult of Deng', *S.N.R.*, vol. xi, p. 195.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE EVIL EYE.

THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN.

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

I. — THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE EVIL EYE.

To the animistic mind of the Shilluk, the occult powers are always near, and the fact that they can not be seen makes them none the less real. Around, about him everywhere are the spirits, and daily he comes in contact with people, who are the possessors of occult powers. They recognize five classes of people, who are in possession of hidden powers. They are:

The servants of the king, that is the people in whom is the spirit of one of the kings;
The beneficent medicine men or witch-doctors;
The malignant medicine men or witch-doctors;
The people with the power of the evil eye, and
The people possessed of the evil spirit.

Some say that the class of people with the power to cast the evil eye receive their power from the evil medicine men, and would class them together, but very few make that classification. However, in talking about the evil eye, it always brings up the subject of the malignant medicine men. The powers claimed for the two classes are very similar.

Many say, with good reason, that the people possessed of the evil spirit should not be so called, but that their affliction is merely a disease. We would call it insanity.

These articles do not exhaust the subjects, but a little has been gleaned from the contradictory tales of the Shilluks. Often the ideas of the natives

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

are hazy as to the powers which animate the different classes, but they have no doubt as to the power of the people who make the claims. 754

The Shilluks believe firmly in the power of the evil eye. A few claim that the people who cast the evil eye belong to the evil medicine men, and receive their power from them, but the people are almost unanimous in saying that they have their power separately, and they think that it comes from God. The fact that the power is inherited tends to prove that they are really a separate class.

When one person in a family has the evil eye, the house is spoken of as the house or family with the evil eye, though all the members of the family may not have that power. A man may have this power, and his wife be all right, or it may be the wife that is affected, but in every case all their children are affected, though the unaffected husband may have untainted children by another wife. This taint is carried by their descendants, and theoretically at least is supposed to extend to the end of time. 754 827

A girl who has the power of the evil eye is not sought in marriage, and while the man afflicted in this manner is not desirable as a husband, yet he does not have so much trouble in getting a wife. This is not because they differentiate between the sexes, but because a man pays a heavy dowry for his wife, and he does not want to buy a tainted wife, whose children will also bear the taint of a hidden power. If the afflicted man has the price, the father is very often willing to accept him for a son-in-law, and that is especially true, when the daughter is not very desirable. As a class the people with the evil eye try to keep their neighbours ignorant of their powers. 582 754 [583]

In addition to those who inherit the evil eye, others suddenly receive the power. It suddenly falls upon them, or comes on them. They know not how it comes, but suddenly they find themselves with that dread power. 754

A person possessed of the evil eye can not always be distinguished. The fact that a certain person has that power is known in his own village, and the stranger coming in soon enquires about it, and is told. However one mark can be relied on to some extent, and that is if a person has eyes in which the whites are small, and the iris is large in proportion, and the iris is very dark. This test is not sure as some people of the class do not have this mark, and others, who do not have the power have the mark. 754 826

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

754 The possessed is conscious of the fact that he has the power and may even mention the fact. The power is made operative by looking fixedly at the person to be made the victim. The person exercising the power is usually in anger when the deed is done. The person who is bewitched says the eye went into me, and if the person who did the deed speaks of it, he will usually say that his eye went into the person.

The evil eye does not always take effect in the same part of the body. If the curse falls on the eye, the person will have sore eyes terminating in blindness. They recognize three causes of blindness, other than accidents. [753] Blindness may follow the small pox, or measles, or else it is the result of the evil eye. When the evil eye strikes the ear, deafness is the result, and when it is on the head, sores and swellings appear on the head. When the body is affected, it is covered with sores. The intestines or the liver may be the part afflicted, and they swell to unnatural size, and the worst part about it is that the swelling is permanent. One young man, who was a very fine looking child, was afflicted thus, and ever since he has been out of proportion. The doctors called it enlargement of the spleen. A man who is a very swift runner may have the evil eye take effect in his feet, and in that case the feet swell, and the victim has trouble in walking. The curse may fall on the teeth, and they decay. The evil eye may strike the unborn babe, and it disappears. The most dangerous place to have the evil eye take effect is in the heart, and in case it does the victim can not live through the day.

The evil eye is not confined to the body, but it may also affect the domestic animals belonging to a person. When a person drinks the milk of a cow that has been touched by the evil eye, it causes his insides to swell. A [233] very fine appearing cow is not permitted to go into the village by herself but is kept with the herd, and she is to be kept in the middle of the herd so that she may not be seen, and the curse come on her. A very fine calf is always kept hidden. Sheep may become the victims of the evil eye.

The power extends beyond animate things to the inanimate. A blacksmith may make a very fine bracelet, and it breaks as he is putting it on the wrist of the owner. The bracelet was bewitched by the evil eye. When a very fine spear breaks when it is being polished just after it is made, it is because of the evil eye.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

As can be seen from some of the effects of the evil eye, the Shilluk's idea of sickness has much to do with the increasing of their belief in the evil eye. They do not think of a disease as being contagious so much, as they think of it being spread by some hostile agency. Some people carry their views to such lengths, that they are inclined to think that every accident, and every case of sickness is caused by some occult agency. The power may be exercised by some other agent than the person with the evil eye.

When a person is taken sick, all the symptoms are very thoroughly discussed by the people of the village, and if some mysterious features or circumstances are brought to light, it is immediately looked upon as a visitation from some occult power. Most cases of sickness present some puzzling features, and so it is easy to give credit to the evil eye for much of it. Most accidents occur not because someone was careless, but because some hidden power was invoked against the person. The patient is then taken to the good medicine man. He goes through certain forms to determine the source of the evil charm. He may decide it is from the evil eye, or from an evil medicine man.

When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to do two things. The first is to cure the person suffering, and the second is to put that particular charmer with the evil eye out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he is cured, and at the same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect. When the person who casts the charm hears of the cure performed by the medicine man, he hastens to him at night, and beseeches him to spare his eyes. The medicine man exacts a good fee from him, and then assures him that he will save his eyes, but warns him not to do it again, and threatens to kill him if he sees him casting the evil eye on another person.

A person with the evil eye can cure a person who is suffering from the evil eye. Of course he gets a good fee for it. Before he takes the case he gets a small fee, such as a sheep or a h[illegible] and after the case is cured he

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754 755 demands a large fee, usually a cow. The patient sits down near the person who is to treat him. The latter says: «You have come near me, therefore you will not die». He then grinds up a bit of wood, and putting it in water, makes the patient drink it.

754 The spell of the evil eye may be cast in the presence of people, and all present even to the victim may be ignorant of what is being done, though it may be known. The man with the evil eye may be seen staring at the victim. For that reason the Shilluks do not like to have a person look them in the eye. When a person stares at a Shilluk, he usually averts his eyes, or protests.

693 754 When the evil eye has been cast on a person, he very seldom tries to discover the identity of the person who bewitched him. Should the person boast of having done it, he will be fined as though he had killed a man. The victim may have seen the person staring at him, and directly accuse him of the act, but that is not always safe, as the case is brought before a medicine man. If the person accused of casting the evil eye shows fear he [627] is guilty, and must pay a fine equal to that paid for killing a man. If he shows no fear, it was a false accusation, and in that case the accuser must pay an equal fine for his false charge.

578 754 The motive for using the evil eye is usually envy or jealousy or anger, for the evil eye always picks a shining mark, it does not fall on poor people, nor is a poor thing bewitched. A poor man may occasionally be the victim of the evil eye, but it is always an accident, as he has eaten food that has been bewitched to catch a richer person. They take some precautions to avoid the evil eye.

751 754 If a person has some very choice food, it is covered so that the evil eye may not fall on it. Food is very often bewitched, but it is usually meat or fish that is tainted, and it is very seldom that food made from grain is affected. Food that has had the evil eye cast on it can be made fit to eat by giving some of it to a dog. They say that the dog takes off the eye. The milk of a cow that has been affected can be cleansed by taking some of it in a vessel, and pouring it on a fire. The fire is put out, and from that time the milk of that cow is safe to use. If these precautions are not taken, the food will cause nausea. After the nausea has passed, evil consequences may remain, or a person may be all right.

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The natives weave their hair into fantastic shapes. If a person has very fine hair, he puts a few thorns in it to keep off the evil eye. Should the evil eye fall on his hair, his head would break out in sores.

When a person has his body well oiled or covered with some fine ashes, he is very likely to have the evil eye cast on him. To escape that misfortune he takes a cucumber like pod from a wild plant, and takes out the seeds. Some of the seeds are put on the temples, and some on the neck, and others on the tip of the shoulder blade, or the entire fruit may be worn suspended from the neck.

When butter is boiled to clarify it, the work is usually done at night so that the evil eye may not be cast on it.

The Shilluks will not say that they are in good circumstances, lest it be heard by some envious person, and he should cast the evil eye on their possessions. When a rich man is asked in regard to his property, he usually says I have one or two cows, but they are very poor cows.

The parents of a very fine looking child do not like to let people see it for fear someone will cast the evil eye on it, and the parent is very angry when someone comments on the good appearance of the child. Should the child be taken sick, the parents call on the person who made the remark, and demand that he pay the fine required when a person is killed. The accused usually holds out, and a compromise is affected. He brings a sheep, and one of its ears is cut off. The sheep then is a witness against the man, and by doing that, he assumes the responsibility for the child. If it dies, he pays the fine as though he had killed it. Even if the child reaches maturity and dies, the man is responsible and must pay the fine.

Frequently people have hard knots in their flesh. These are really stones that have been put there by someone with the evil eye. The swellings do not disappear.

The Shilluks have a custom that when a person is threshing his grain, they go to beg from him. Sometimes they go in such numbers that the man has very little left for himself, but he does not dare to refuse for fear someone in the party may cast the evil eye on him. He gets even by going to beg from some other person.

They give a few warnings as to conduct when with a person who has the evil eye.

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626 751 754 If you walk with a person who has the evil eye, let him walk in front, for if you go in front you give him a good chance to cast the evil eye on you.

When a person with the evil eye begs from you, grant his request, because when he accepts your present his power over you is broken, and he can not injure you. He may regain his power if he comes again and is refused, for if you refuse him, he becomes angry and casts the evil eye on you.

When eating, let the oldest of the party take the food first, so that if the evil eye has fallen on the food he may detect it, and the food can be cleansed.

When eating with a man who has the evil eye, do not eat much or he will kill you.

When you are angry at a certain village, do not enter that village or you will get the evil eye.

Do not speak harshly to a man who has the evil eye, or he will cast the spell on you.

754 Once a man gave his daughter to the king to be his wife. The girl had the evil eye, and when the king learned that fact, he gave the woman to another man lest she kill his other wives.

At the present time a chief is suffering from the evil eye. The people of another village had stolen his cow. He went to the village in anger, and talked harshly. While there he felt a chill run through his body. He went home, and took sick. His body has sores on it that have come from the evil eye.

The man with the power to cast the evil eye is feared by the people, but he is not feared as much as the evil medicine man. When he causes death, it is usually sudden, though it may be lingering. When a person [761] with the evil eye dies, the people of the village rejoice, though they do not show their joy openly.

The possessors of the evil eye are deceived even as the people who fear them. They go through life apart from their fellow men in many respects. They believe in their own evil powers, and while their claims sound childish to us, yet we must consider the fact that the history of the English speaking world reveals the fact that our ancestors were afraid of witches, even after they had reached a much greater development than the Shilluk has attained.

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II. — THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN.

The Shilluks believe that occult power of a malignant nature is possessed 754c
by a certain class of men. The man with this power is called *jal yat* (the
first *a* as in lad, the second, as *a* in father and the *t* is a dental). It means [192]
the man of the tree, or medicine, as *yat* means either a tree, or the injuring
or healing powers of certain compounds, which are usually derived from
trees.

The men of this class are all born with the distinguishing mark. Three 754
different marks divide them into three divisions. The first have but one 826
testicle showing in the scrotum; the second have two, but they are very
small, and the third have none. The first class is the more numerous, and
are the dominating class. The members of the first and second class are
supposed to be equal in the manifestation of their powers, but the third
are more powerful.

Children born marked as evil medicine men are thrown into the river at 845
birth, which is called sending them to their own country. The father alone [847]
has the power to spare his son in such a case.

The young wife always returns to her own home to give birth to her [844]
first child. After that she may either remain in the home of her husband,
or go to her old home, but in either case a few hours after the child is
born a number of men come to the door of the house and sit down. If
the husband is in the village, he is one of the number. If it is in the women's
home, her relatives go through this formality. The men say: «What is it?».
If the women within reply «a boy», the men then ask: «Is it good?». If
the women reply immediately «it is good», the men go away happy, but
if the women hesitate or answer: «It is bad», the men go in to investigate.
If they find that the child is an evil medicine man, they immediately begin
to go through certain forms. When the child is born in the wife's old home, 672
a messenger must be sent off to the father. Should the messenger merely 845
say that a son has been born, and not tell of his deformity the husband 847
can recover part of the cattle he has paid for his wife, and his relatives-
in-law become responsible for any damage the child may do. When the
father is told that the child is bad, he usually says it must be killed. He

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672 845 847 fears to trust his relatives-in-law lest they yield to the pleadings of the mother, and so he sends a messenger to see that the child is killed. Should the father permit the child to live, he is responsible for all the evil done by him. If the father is present, he gives immediate judgment, and if it is for death, the sentence is carried out immediately.

845 847 The helpless child is always killed in a certain way. A little basket is woven, and the child placed within, and then the top is also woven shut. The basket is then put in a boat, and taken to the middle of the river, where it is committed to the water. The basket is a necessity, as they think that the powers of the babe are such that without the basket to restrain him he would immediately swim ashore, and escape.

842 845 When the evil medicine man is not killed, his mother loses the power to become a mother again, and when she weeps for the death of the little one, her next child will be deformed in the same way.

682 If the father spares the child, and someone else kills it, the murderer must suffer the usual punishment for murder, which can usually be atoned for by a fine.

751 627 683 After an evil medicine man has reached maturity, he can not be openly killed except under certain conditions. The people of his village may tire of his evil practices and conspire to kill him accidentally. To accomplish that end they invite him to join them in the chase, and they manage to get him well to the front. When he is in the right position, they all throw at the animal, but he is their real target. When he falls, the men all cry out: "an accident", and no one is responsible for his death. They do not seek to kill such a person in their local fights lest their own side be thrown into disorder.

751 This occult power is not hereditary, but many think that the mother of an evil medicine man has some occult power, if her husband is not of that class. She does not work as the men do, and the majority seem to think that such a mother is not tainted.

The evil medicine man always works on his own initiative, and never at the request of another, and for that reason he never receives fees. He uses as his tools, owls, snakes, eggs, sodom apples, lizards, and crows. The medicine or power in these agents is the same as the power belonging to the man, and in action unite with his power to work evil.

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As a class they are without mercy, and do not intercede for the children, who are killed. However, if an evil medicine man has a son afflicted in a like manner, he spares his life. They try to keep people ignorant of the fact that they have the evil power, and when someone mentions the work of the evil medicine man in the presence of one of the class, he usually says «why are they so evil?». 7 54 [8 45 8 47]

They belong to the dark as they always work at night, and when one is seen casting his charm on the house of another, if he tries to run away he may be killed, and no punishment is inflicted on the murderer; but if he is caught, and held, and then killed, the murderer is fined. If he is caught, he must pay a fine as though he had killed a man. It is very difficult to hold them, as they blind their captors temporarily by throwing some medicine in their eyes. 6 83 7 54

The statement is made that they usually try to cast their charms on houses where people are sick, and that accounts for some of their apparently wonderful achievements. This statement is also borne out by one case at the mission. The calves had been dying from some disease. One night an evil medicine man came, and made a great hole in the mud wall of the barn. Some object, perhaps a snake, had been dragged among the calves, and sticks were placed in a certain manner in front of the opening. The herder was in great distress, as he was sure all of the calves would die, but not another one died from that disease. 7 54

The people firmly believe in this black art, and apparently in many cases at least the victims believe themselves possessed of this power. They go out into a desert place at night, and pray thus: »You, who are God give me this person to kill. Why was I created thus if it was not that I was to kill?» If he does not succeed at the first attempt, he tries till he is successful. Their belief in their own powers is also shown by the fact that the little boys of this class work charms on their little play fellows, apparently practising their powers. Perhaps the child has heard much of his own evil powers, and he desires to learn whether or not he can do the wonderful things attributed to him, and as he tries he becomes convinced of his own power. [7 82]

To call a man a *jal yat* is a serious matter even though it is a well known fact that he has the power. The person making the statement must 6 83 7 54

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683 754 pay a fine unless he has caught the man actually working a charm. The accused says: «Whom have I injured in your house?». He does not try to plead that he is innocent of such work, but only that he has not injured his accuser.

754 The malignant medicine man has many means of bringing disaster to people. If he is able to get a bit of hair, the parings of the nails, spittle or any thing else that has been part of the body, or the clothing of the body, he can work a charm on it, so that the owner will die. If he is ignorant of the identity of the owner, he can do nothing with these things. For that reason, when a man cuts his hair or his nails, he either hides the [302] part removed or else puts it on a public road, so that the identity of the owner can not be learned.

A case that illustrated their belief in that power occurred here once. One afternoon a man came in great wrath with his daughter. He said someone on the place had killed his daughter that morning. As she seemed to be in good health, his statement seemed to be a little ridiculous. When asked to explain, he said that she had been carrying water, and that she had laid off her outer garment which was of calf skin. When she returned to get her garment, she found that someone had cut a piece out of it. We was sure a man with the occult power to kill had done the deed. When examined the edge of the marred place was seen to be rough. Others, who had been working were called to see if the identity of the person doing the wrong could be ascertained. At last a boy said that he had seen two pups playing with the skin and dragging it about. He had driven them away, and returned it to its place. The man was satisfied that harm had not been intended against his daughter, and she returned to work.

Over a bit of mud taken from the wall of a house, or a bit of grass from the roof, a charm can be worked that will kill the owner of the house.

When a man's club falls into the hands of one of these evil men, he buries it, which is symbolical of the burial of the owner which will soon occur, or he may kill the man by cutting the club in two, or a hoe may be given to him by the children while the older people are away. He throws the hoe into the river, and the arm of the owner is destroyed so that he can not hoe. He may also steal a cow rope or a spear and work a charm on it that will kill the owner.

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Many things are done by the evil medicine men. He cuts off a cow's tail, and it becomes barren; but if he treats a bull in the same way, it brings disaster on the house of the owner. Any mishap that may come to him is sure to be caused by the fact that his bull was maimed. 754

He may not be able to get a person in any other way, and finally kills his dog. That causes the death of the master. He slips into a house, and cuts off a bit of the skin on which the people sleep. The people who sleep in that house all die. He watches a person as he walks and counts his steps. The person dies. He defiles food, and those eating it die that very day. If the food is given to a dog it coughs, and swells, but it does not die. He cuts a bit out of the loin cloth of a woman, and she becomes sterile.

For one special device of the evil medicine men the good medicine men have a special counter. The evil man makes a mud image of the man he expects to kill. He sticks nails in the ears of the effigy, and puts it in the fire. The man will either die or go crazy. The good medicine man makes another image of the man when he comes for help, and it is put in water, and that tends to neutralize the heat on the other image. [755]

They have the power to bewitch a herd of cattle so that all the milk is found in the udders of their own cows, or they can injure the grain in the fields. One of the evil medicine men sees the field of a certain man yielding very abundantly, and he becomes envious. He waits till the next crop has been planted, and is just coming up. He then goes to the field at night and pulls up a bit of the grain, and then throws a dead snake in the field. From that time on the field will not bear, and the owner takes a new field and leaves the old one. He may hear that a certain person is a very fast hoer. He goes at night and takes a bit of the soil from his field, and in so doing achieves a double victory. The owner of the field loses his power to hoe, and the field loses its fertility. 754 789

These men with the occult power are said to be envious of the man with a large family, and for that reason they cast many spells on little children, and they must be guarded so as not to come into the presence of such an evil man. When he spits on a child, it dies. The reason for this envy is that the man can not have a large family. He may have many children, but as a judgment for the blood on his hands most of them die in infancy. 754 842

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754 The evil medicine man takes advantage of the carelessness of the people. A man may be gathering the old stalks on his field to burn them, but fails to burn them that evening. An evil medicine man comes at night and burns them, and then the owner gets the ashes on his hands, and his hands swell. Or the large stick used in planting the grain may be left in the field at night, and the owner of the malignant power enters the field, and burns it. The grain will grow well till it gets to be almost ready to yield the harvest, when it is burned by the sun so that it dies. Water that is left in the garden over night may be defiled, and the people who drink it die.

The evil charmer is envious of the successful fisherman. He gets a bone of a fish that the man has caught. The fish bone is burned in the fire. That works a charm on the fish spear, so that in the future it will not be able to take the fish.

Accidents which terminate in blindness are caused by the evil medicine men.

513 In the hot season, when the people sleep in their yards, the evil medicine man comes at night and sprinkles blood on the sleepers, and they die.

751 764 After a person has been buried, the grave is watched for three or four nights lest the man of evil should take a bit of the earth, and by working a charm on it kill the whole family of the deceased; but after a short time he can not work that charm, so at the end of the fourth day the watchmen are dismissed.

751 754 When with an evil medicine man it is well to be on the alert. When a person is sitting with a man of that class, when he gets up he should brush the ground where he has been sitting so as not to leave an imprint of his body for the man to use in his witchcraft. When a person sees such a man walking behind him, he should return, and if the man is stepping exactly in his tracks, he should be taken and made to ransom the man as he was killing him. It is not safe to sleep in the same house with them, as they may defile a person in his sleep. In eating with them it is best to *stop before a person is satisfied. To strike an evil medicine man is to invite* certain death. The people have the habit of asking a person to wash their 515 backs when they are bathing. Should a person ask an evil medicine man to do that favour for him he will be very itchy all that night, and later have sores all over his back.

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All the evil medicine men keep snakes, but usually they have them in a gourd or den in the fields, though a few of the most powerful have kept the snakes in their houses. To deceive the people, they pretend to fear snakes. 231 754

A man, who is reliable, tells this story of a transaction he witnessed. He was making a short trip. He came to a village where the people were very much excited. He found that the cause of the trouble was that a sick man said he had been bewitched by an evil medicine man named Akomadul. Poor Akomadul was brought into the centre of the village, and beaten by all of the people, until at last he cried out: "Do not kill me, I did it, but I will save him. I will remove the charm I have put on him." Akomadul then went into the house of the sick man, and took out a bit of hollow ambach wood that had been hidden in the grass of the roof. Inside of it were, a charm, an egg, and a lizard. The people were not satisfied, and they began to beat him again. He then went to the field of the afflicted man, and got a charm that had been buried there. It was a large stick with an iron ring at each end, and stretched between the rings was a lizard. He next went to the doorway of the patient, and took up a cooking vessel that had been buried there. The vessel was full of charms, eggs, and lizards. The chief of the village asked him why he wanted to kill the man, and he said: "He cursed me because I killed one of his relatives". Akomadul then took a white sheep, and said: "I will save the man". The sheep was cut open while yet alive, and the contents of the stomach were put on the patient, and on his house. The blood was put in the hole where the cooking vessel had been buried. He then said: "The man will get well; even though you kill me, he will recover". The people wanted to kill the witch, but the chief intervened to save his life. It was reported that the man recovered after a long illness. 754 683

It can easily be seen that many ills can readily be diagnosed as coming from an evil medicine man. When the good medicine man has found that the malady was caused by an evil medicine man, he proceeds to break the charm. Different methods are used, but one or two will suffice. While the medicine man is working, the parents of the patient pray for him, if they are living. In case they are dead, his male relatives pray for him. The patient sits on the ground while the healer jumps over him in such a way as 755

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755 to encircle him with his legs. The medicine man then spits on his hands, and strikes the patient lightly. He then places his hands in the arm pits of the afflicted person, and proceeds to knead his whole body, and then concludes by stretching the patient's fingers. A chicken is then killed, put in a cooking vessel, and buried. A burning torch is then passed in circles about the head of the patient. Three higlig pegs are then driven in the ground near his door, and the medicine man taking water in his hands blesses it, and sprinkles it on the ground by the pegs, and as he sprinkles [82] it he prays: "Help my breast that the man may live. I have worked; the matter rests with you, you are God, it was you, who created, and the tree (medicine)."

Others add to the above by grinding up a bit of a certain plant, and giving it to the patient in water. Then grass is tied in little knots, and scattered on the road, and the patient is then put in a house, and a spear stuck up near his head to guard him.

754 The evil medicine men kill their own relatives first so as to inherit their 102 property.

Sometimes when the evil medicine man is old, he reforms and leaves 754 all his old practices, and hires his powers to help people. When they try 756 to help, they are very powerful. A story was told by different people, but none of them were eye witnesses of the cure, though they had it from a man who was present.

To begin the cure, two oxen were paid. The patient was tied so he could not move, and laid on the ground. The medicine man then called his two big snakes, and when they came to him, he said: "You see the man, and the fee. Shall we help him? If you assent, go to him." The snakes went to the poor victim, and much to his terror crawled all over him, and they even went so far as to lick his face. The patient called loudly for help, and even wept. The medicine man called for water, and sprinkled it on the patient, after he had blessed it, and he announced that the patient was cured.

751 Another reformed malignant medicine man, had such power over a cer- 791 tain bit of water that if a person fished in it without permission, some mishap would ever take him. The required permission would be given when the fisherman promised to give as a fee the first fish taken, and

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another had such power over the animals in a certain district that it was not safe to hunt without his blessing, which was given by spitting on the hunter and his dogs. If that blessing was not obtained, the hunter would be devoured by lions.

Sometimes an evil medicine man may have the power of the evil eye as well, and then he is exceedingly strong. While most of the natives say that the people with the evil eye, and the evil medicine men are entirely separate some connection must exist, for if a man begins to talk about one he invariably brings in some thing about the other, and it is not always easy to know which he is talking about. One of the chief differences in the method of working is that with one, merely to look on the victim is enough, but the other must get some means of contact.

As a class they accept the reputation given them, and try to live up to it. They are sinned against, and they seek to repay in kind. Shunned as evil they come to believe in the powers ascribed to them. Many of the miracles accomplished by their power follow so long after the invocation of the power, that a less superstitious race would not look upon it as a result of their power.

Through superstition the evil medicine man is a power among the Shilluks. Thoughts of his power may cast a gloom over the most festive occasion, and at night when the world is peopled by the spirits of their fancies, the evil medicine man prowls about. The hooting of an owl or unusual tapping sounds caused by the wind bring a thrill of dread to the heart of the Shilluk, which can not be dispelled by the bright light of day.

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The man, who had been sick leans upon his staff as he walks. They then return to the house of the patient in the same way, and usually a fee is given the medicine man, and he says: "I have mine now, you will not be sick again". The patient then discards his staff, and early the next morning he goes to work again. 756

The witch doctor claims the power to kill a person by casting a charm on him, but for such a service he exacts a very heavy fee, as the risk to the witch doctor is considerable. The spirit of the departed is liable to return, and make war on the medicine man, and in the end kill him. It is necessary for the medine man to outwit the spirit of the departed and that is accomplished by killing a chicken. The dead chicken is placed in an earthen vessel, and it is buried in the road with the bottom of the vessel up, and protruding out of the ground. This device brings protection in two ways. First every person passing the vessel is liable to carry away a bit of the curse, and in the second place the chicken has a spirit, which is greatly displeased at being killed, and it immediately decides that it is due to the departed that death was inflicted on it, and so it makes war on the spirit of the departed, and the poor shade gets so busy defending himself against the shade of the chicken that it has no opportunity to return to inflict punishment on the medicine man. Every medicine man, who passes the vessel taps it with his club. He thinks that in that way some of the power of the medicine man who put the vessel in the road will be given to him. After the death of the victim the medicine man also demands a sheep from his client, so that he can sacrifice it to help to appease the spirit of the departed. 775 756 754

When a village is going into a fight it is very convenient to know before, who will be killed. They have at least two ways of learning this. By one method two spears are stuck in the earth. They are connected at the top by a string, and another string passes between them at the bottom. All the fighting men bearing their weapons, must pass between the spears, and if a man or his weapons touch either the spears or the string he will be killed in the fight. The second method is by the gourd of God. Many of the more successful witch doctors have a gourd of God. It is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron band. The gourd is greased, and in it is put some grain. When the gourd is shaken 756 787 726

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king, Kudit, and during her father's reign assisted him by her very able administration of the northern province of the kingdom. She continued in this office until her death which took place during the reign of Kudit's successor, Aney. To this shrine in times of severe drought, or on the occasion of some other such public misfortune, comes the whole populace of the district to dance and sing and pray before it, to offer its tithes of grain, and to slay and sacrifice a bull to the spirit of Nyala.

The Shilluk do not possess a priesthood in the sense of a body of men dedicated to offer sacrifice; sacrifice may be offered publicly by the king or the chief of a district, or privately by any individual. There are, however, individuals who claim to have supernatural powers, to be possessed by Nyikang and to be the interpreters of his wishes, to foretell the future, to read auguries, to heal the sick, to avert or to cause evil. These people are of two kinds, the *Ajwogo*—literally, the 'man of God'—and the *Jal yath*, the 'medicine man'. The ajwogo deals in white magic, that is, his works are, or are supposed to be, beneficial to the community or the individual on behalf of whom his services are solicited. For a fee of a sheep or a goat or a cow, according to his rapacity and the circumstances of his client, he will do his best to cure or to kill a sick person that he has been called in to attend. For he will cheerfully administer a potion concocted of ingredients the potentialities of which, either for good or ill, he hasn't the slightest idea; will indulge in blood-letting to an extent that would make an eighteenth-century leech blench with horror; and is not above performing a surgical operation, despite his complete ignorance of anatomy and surgery, with a rusty piece of iron, or a spear head or some other such Shilluk equivalent of the scalpel and lancet. At Detwok a lovely, high-spirited cheerful girl was reduced to a physical wreck after her ordeal at the hands of one of these wretches. She became ill and was attended by the Sisters who thought that she should go to hospital. Her pagan parents refused to allow this and instead called

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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in an ajwogo to cure her. He diagnosed her illness, which actually was pneumonia, as an evil spirit inside her, and proceeded to release it by gouging a hole in her side with a broken and rusty scissors blade. It was due only to the care that the poor girl received from the indignant nuns that she was saved at all, and fully two months after her 'operation' she had not completely recovered the use of her limbs, and was reduced to crawling round the village on her hands and knees.

Fortunately, the people are coming to realize the good that proper medical treatment can do them. They are more willing to send to the local medical dispensary for assistance and, if necessary, to allow the Medical Assistant or us at the mission to send their sick into Malakal hospital. On this account the influence of the ajwogo as a general practitioner is being weakened and it will be greatly to the benefit of the Shilluk when it is destroyed altogether.

The other disciple of Nyikang, the jal yath, is a dabbler in black magic, a worker of evil. For a fee, he will undertake to bring about the death or the illness of an enemy, or an injury to his crops or cattle. Often enough the evil effects he does cause will be brought about by the old-fashioned method of poison, but to impress his client he will have recourse to the childish practice of making an image of the intended victim and sticking nails in it to demonstrate the pains he is to suffer, or causing it to waste away, when the sufferer's body will waste in a similar manner. The jal yath is undoubtedly greatly feared by the people and plays upon their fears to achieve his end. An instance of this occurred at Detwok some years ago. We employ a number of youths at the mission as gardeners, cowherds, kitchen and table boys, etc. One of this little community, the gardener, was the proud possessor of a wooden box in which he could keep his few possessions under lock and key. Since he was the only one thus blessed, the other boys used to entrust their savings to him, each keeping his modest sum, ranging from a few piastres to a pound or so, in a tobacco tin in the wooden box. One day it was discovered that the box had been opened

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and that one of the tins containing ninety piastres (about 18s.) had been stolen. The District Chief was called and held solemn court on the verandah of the house. He, however, could not discover the thief and therefore gave judgment that the owner of the box was responsible for the safety of the money entrusted to him and that he was to refund the missing money and to be held in custody until he did so. This seemed rather unfair on Henry, the owner of the box, since he had gained nothing from acting as banker to the rest, yet unless the thief was found there was nothing that we could do about the matter and it seemed to be closed. Two days later we were surprised to learn that one of the boys had owned up to the theft and had refunded the money. We were pleased, too, because we thought that although the boy had acted meanly in stealing his companion's savings, at least he had been man enough to come forward to save Henry from having to pay the penalty for the theft. We werespeedily disillusioned as to his motive for confessing; the other boys knew perfectly well that Henry was innocent of taking the money, and they had a very strong idea who had. Accordingly they subscribed to buy a sheep which was given to the local witch doctor as a fee for finding the thief. The jal yath let it be known that he would sacrifice the sheep at a certain hour, and the moment the animal died so would the culprit; the latter had not the courage to defy the curse but promptly confessed his guilt.

When an animal is slain in sacrifice, great importance is attached to the position in which it falls. If the animal is a bull, it is not usualy slain outright, but wounded by a spear thrust and allowed free. If it should wander towards the river or towards the shrine before it dies, that is taken as a sign that the sacrifice is acceptable to Nyikang. So, too, is it taken as a good omen if the beast in collapsing falls on its left side; if it should fall on its right side then the portents are unfavourable, and should it fall neither to right nor left but simply crumple up and fall forward with forefeet doubled beneath it, that would presage some terrible disaster. The actual spearing of the victim is generally done by